aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What resale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

Age-sex distribution of drinking

Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

273* [533] marimberos drink together with their friends in the house where the instrument is kept. When the informal drinking sequence [275] takes place in a cantina, it is accompanied by music played on the phonograph of the cantinero. Each piece costs the owner twenty centavos, and before it is played the names of the donor and his drinking companions are announced over the loud speaker, which carries the sound all over the community.

The informal drinking cycle differs from the ceremonial cycle in that it may move from one setting to another. The two types of cycle differ also in the settings in which each may occur. The distribution of cycles by setting is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING CYCLES BY SETTING

Informal drinking	Ceremonial drinking	Informal drinking and ceremonial drinking	Neither
cantinas	porch of cabildo	uncultivated fields	cultivated fields
	inside cabildo	door yards	inside church
	inside caves	house porches	inside convento
	porch of convento	inside houses	inside clinic
			inside store

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

000 474 275 216 454 434 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable. The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo'ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 434 626 754

[182]

474 493 452 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the purchase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a cosigner on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

323
178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the municipio of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44
471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

562 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women. [558]

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household